

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
HA-05 /110 W

-----104936 242232Z /64

O R 241706Z MAY 78
FM USINT HAVANA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2000
INFO NACB COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 HAVANA 1400

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, PORG, CU, XA, XJ
SUBJECT: NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE: FINAL COMMUNIQUE ON AFRICA

1. SUMMARY: NON-ALIGNED COORDINATING BUREAU, MAY 20, APPROVED, WITHOUT CHANGE, UNPUBLISHED FINAL COMMUNIQUE TEXT ON AFRICA ELABORATED BY AFRICAN CAUCUS. TEXT CONDEMNS "IMPERIALIST" INTERFERENCE, BUT DOES NOT MENTION ETHIOPIA/SOMALIA (INCLUDING ERITREA) NOR ZAIRE INCURSION. NOT ONE WORD IS MENTIONED OF, NOR EVEN INDIRECT ALLUSION MADE TO, SOVIET/CUBAN ROLE IN AFRICA. FURTHERMORE, THIS SUBJECT WAS, FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES, NOT RAISED IN CLOSED-DOOR DISCUSSIONS. COMMUNIQUE PRAISES PATRIOTIC FRONT IN ZIMBABWE AND SWAPO IN NAMIBIA, BUT ONLY MINOR NEUTRAL REFERENCE IS MADE TO WESTERN DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS. WHILE COMMUNIQUE CONDEMNS "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" IN RHODESIA, IT DOES NOT ADVOCATE EXCLUSIVE FUTURE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY PATRIOTIC FRONT. ONE NAMIBIA, COMMUNIQUE CONDEMNS SOUTH AFRICAN ENGINEERED "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" AND HAILS SWAPO AS ONLY LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF LIBERATION MOVEMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. PARTICIPATING DELEGATIONS SAID THAT AFRICANS WERE NOT
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LOOKING FOR MORE PROBLEMS AT HAVANA MEETING AND, THEREFORE, FINAL OUTCOME OF NAM DELIBERATIONS ON AFRICA WAS NON-CONTROLLED DOCUMENT THAT LAMBASTED SOUTHERN AFRICAN WHITE-DOMINATED REGIMES, BUT DID NOT FOCUS ON QUARRELS BETWEEN NAM MEMBERS. SALIENT POINTS OF AFRICAN SECTION OF COMMUNIQUE ARE AS FOLLOWS:
--"IMPERIALIST FORCES" HAVE STRENGTHENED THEIR POLITICAL

AND ECONOMIC PRESSURES TO FRUSTRATE LIBERATION STRUGGLE.
"IMPERIALIST FORCES" HAVE RESORTED MORE AND MORE TO INTER-
FERENCE AND INTERVENTION, USE OF MERCENARIES, AND CREATION
OF "ARTIFICIAL DIVISIONS AND CONFLICTS" BETWEEN NEIGHBORING
FRIENDLY AFRICAN STATES. (COMMENT: NO ONE HAS YET ALLEGED
TO US THAT THIS LANGUAGE ALSO APPLIES TO SOVIETS/CUBANS.
INDEED, ORIGINAL CUBAN DRAFT CONTAINED SIMILAR LANGUAGE.)
--SOUTHERN AFRICAN WHITE REGIMES HAVE INTENSIFIED THEIR
INTERNAL REPRESSION AND EXTERNAL AGGRESSIVENESS.
--BUREAU DENOUNCES IAN SMITH "ILLEGAL, MINORITY RACIST"
REGIME IN RHODESIA AND ITS AGGRESSIONS AGAINST FRONT LINE
STATES OF BOTSWANA, MOZAMBIQUE, AND ZAMBIA.
--BUREAU CATEGORICALLY CONDEMNS SMITH'S PLANS "TO FRUSTRATE
EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT TO
PUT END TO ILLEGAL RACIST DOMINATION." BUREAU "REJECTS
COMPLETELY AND CONDEMNS ENERGETICALLY" RHODESIAN "INTERNAL
SETTLEMENT" WHICH IS A "TREACHEROUS AND DESPICABLE MANEUVER."
--NAM CALLS ON ALL STATES TO COMPLY WITH RHODESIAN ECONOMIC
SANCTIONS.
--NAM CALLS FOR "EFFECTIVE MEASURES" TO END RHODESIAN
AGGRESSIONS AGAINST BOTSWANA, MOZAMBIQUE AND ZAMBIA.
--BUREAU PRAISES PATRIOTIC FRONT AND PROMISES TO GIVE FULL
AND UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT TO "LIBERATION MOVEMENT."
--BUREAU HOLDS UK RESPONSIBLE FOR EXISTENCE OF SMITH
REGIME. NAM CONSIDERS THAT THERE CAN BE NO LASTING AND
PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO ZIMBABWE PROBLEM "WITHOUT PARTICIPATION
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OF ARMED LIBERATION FORCES." (COMMENT: THIS AND PREVIOUS
POINT FALL SHORT OF ENDORSING PATRIOTIC FRONT RIGHT TO EX-
CLUSIVE RULE IN RHODESIA. INDEED, FORMULATION ALLOWS FOR
"ALL-PARTIES" APPROACH.)
--ON NAMIBIA, SOUTH AFRICA'S POLICY IS ONE OF TOTAL
DEFIANCE AND INCREASED INTERNAL OPPRESSION, PARTICULARLY
AGAINST SWAPO MEMBERS.
--WHILE APPEARING TO LOOK FOR "INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE
SOLUTION", SOUTH AFRICA IS PREPARING GROUNDWORK FOR PUPPET
GOVERNMENT "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" IN ORDER TO "PROPAGATE
FICTION" THAT LIBERATION STRUGGLE IS EXTERNAL AGGRESSION.
--SOUTH AFRICA IS ILLEGALLY SEEKING TO ANNEX WALVIS BAY.
--SOUTH AFRICA IS COMMITTING AGGRESSION AGAINST ANGOLA
AND ZAMBIA - REAR BASES FOR NAMIBIAN LIBERATION. AFTER
CASSIGA ATTACK, UN SHOULD TAKE EFFECTIVE MEASURES
TO OBLIGATE SOUTH AFRICA TO RESPECT SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL
INTEGRITY OF ANGOLA.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 HAVANA 1400

--IN ACCORDANCE WITH DECLARATION AND ACTION PROGRAM ON
NAMIBIA APPROVED IN RECENT UNGA SPECIAL SESSION, UN SHOULD
PUT INTO PRACTICE "WIDE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS, AND ARMS AND
PETROLEUM EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA" PURSUANT TO UN
CHARTER CHARTER VII.
--RECENT ACTIONS DEMONSTRATE THAT SOUTH AFRICA DOES NOT
INTEND TO WITHDRAW FROM NAMIBIA PEACEFULLY, SO "GREATER
PRESSURE" MUST BE APPLIED.
--SWAPO IS ONLY AND LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF NAMIBIAN
LIBERATION STRUGGLE. INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD DELIVER
GROWING SUPPORT TO SWAPO AND NAMIBIAN PEOPLE. (COMMENT:
EXCLUSIVE ENDORSEMENT OF SWAPO APPEARS CONSIDERABLY STRONGER
THAN IN CASE OF RHODESIAN PATRIOTIC FRONT.)
--SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID IS BECOMING MORE REPRESSIVE
("MURDERS, TORTURES").
--SOUTH AFRICA HAS BUILT UP ITS MILITARY POWER, INCLUDING
THE "ESTABLISHMENT OF A NUCLEAR TESTING ZONE IN THE KALAHARI
DESERT WITH THE HELP OF CERTAIN WESTERN POWERS."
--BUREAU CONDEMNS SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR
WEAPONS LNND CALLED ON SSOD TO DEVELOP EFFECTIVE MEASURES
TO IMPEDE THIS DEVELOPMENT.
--BUREAU CONDEMNS APARTHEID AND INHUMAN SOUTH AFRICAN
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TREATMENT OF BLACK POPULATION, "RENDERS TRIBUTE TO THOSE WHO
HAVE MADE GREAT SACRIFICE FOR CAUSE OF SOUTH AFRICAN LIBE-
RATION," AND "DEMOUNCES AND CATEGORICALLY REJECTS"
BANTUSTAN CONCEPT.

--BUREAU "PROFOUNDLY DEPLORES ACTIONS OF FOREIGN STATES AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS...THAT CONTINUE COLLABORATING WITH RACIST PRETORIA REGIME." BUREAU CONDEMNS THOSE WESTERN COUNTRIES THAT CONTINUE TO SUPPLY ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA AND COLLABORATE WITH IT IN NUCLEAR SPHERE.

--BUREAU CALLS FOR GREATER INTERNATIONAL HELP TO FRONT LINE STATES OF ANGOLA, BOTSWANA, MOZAMBIQUE AND ZAMBIA TO "IMPROVE THEIR POSSIBILITIES TO CONTRIBUTE EFFECTIVELY TO LIBERATION STRUGGLE AND TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THESE COUNTRIES TO DEFEND THEMSELVES AGAINST RACIST MINORITY REGIMES."

--NAM CALLS FOR HELP TO LESOTHO WHICH HAS BEEN ECONOMICALLY DAMAGED SINCE CREATION OF TRANSKEI.

--BUREAU CALLS FOR MORE CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOLIDARITY FUND FOR LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

3. INDIANS POINT OUT THAT THEY WERE ONLY DEL TO MENTION HORN, ALBEIT ONLY IN PASSING, INDICATING THAT DISPUTE SHOULD BE SOLVED BY STATES OF AREA - AN ALLEGED SUBTLE CRITICISM OF SOVIET/CUBAN PRESCENCE. INTENT OF STATEMENT, HOWEVER, APPARENTLY WAS NOT CLEAR TO ANY OTHER DEL SINCE ALL WITH WHOM WE HAVE SPOKEN MAINTAIN THAT HORN WAS NOT MENTIONED AND SOVIET/CUBAN PRESENCES NOT CRITICIZED. SYRIANS HERE, WHILE OPENLY INDICATING THAT THEY SUPPORT ERITREANS, SAPD THAT THEY DID NOT FEEL IT APPROPRIATE TO RAISE HORN ISSUE (PERHAPS SO AS NOT TO LOSE SUPPORT FOR THEIR ATTACK AGAINST SADAT - SEE HAVANA 1386).

4. CONCERNING SHABA, ZAIRE REPRESENTATIVES SPOKE BILATER-
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ALLY WITH CUBANS (SEE HAVANA 1341), BUT THEY DID NOT RAISE INCURSION IN PLENARY OR WORKING GROUPS - PERHAPS TO AVOID CRITICISM OF MOBUTU REGIME AND FRENCH-BELGIAN OPERATION. (FYI ZAIRE DEL, THOUGH ISOLATED AND INEFFECTIVE, WAS ONE OF FEW FORCES FOR MODERATION IN MEETING. END FYI)

5. ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, MODERATE AFRICAN DELS STATE THAT FAILURE TO MENTION ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS WAS DUE TO INABILITY TO GAIN CONSENSUS ON POSITIVE REFERENCES TO THEM. IT SHOULD BE NOTED, OF COURSE, THAT, DESPITE EXTREMIST TONE OF OVERALL COMMUNIQUE, ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS ARE ALSO NOT CONDEMNED. COMMUNIQUE'S OPEN-ENDED ENDORSEMENT OF HELP TO ANGOLA, OTHER FRONT LINE STATES, AND RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS ARE A SOURCE OF SATISFACTION TO CUBANS, AS WAS NIGERIAN REP HARRIMAN'S VOCIFEROUS BACKING IN PLENARIES AND POLITICAL COMMISSION OF CUBAN PRESENCE IN ANGOLA - A BACKING WHICH APPARENTLY INTIMIDATED MODERATE DELS SUCH AS INDIA FROM TAKING MORE FORWARD STAND AGAINST CUBA.

6. COMMENT: IF ONLY BECAUSE OF LACK OF DIRECT ATTACKS AGAINST US, AFRICAN REACTION WAS PERHAPS MOST BALANCED PORTION OF COMMUNIQUE. INFORMED AND ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF DDLS FROM SMALL COUNTRIES SUCH AS BOTSWANA AND NIGER HAVE BEEN POINTED UP TO US AS ONE OF CAUSES FOR THIS BALANCE. IN ADDITION, CAUCUSING OF AFRICAN GROUP, WHICH KEPT OUT FIREBRANDS SUCH AS PLO, SYRIA, IRAQ, AND VIETNAM, ALSO CONTRIBUTED TO MORE FAVORABLE TREATMENT OF US POSITION. ON OTHER HAND, AFRICANS AND OTHERS SHOWED TOTAL INABILITY OR UNWILLINGNESS TO CONDEMN OR EVEN QUESTION CUBAN AFRICAN ROLE. ASIDE FROM SUBSTANTIVE CONCERNS, DELS HAVE POINTED UP TO US THAT, IN TERMS OF MEETING TACTICS, THEY WERE AFRAID TO LOSE THEIR CREDIBILITY BY REMAINING ISOLATED WITH ONLY ZAIRE DEL. ABSENCE OF BROAD OUTRAGE AGAINST CUBANS, THEREFORE, LED TO INACTION.
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